

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Future Position of Labor Is Discussed

AFL Holds Annual Convention at New Orleans to Examine Policies on Major Issues

LITTLE STEEL FORMULA ATTACKED

Workers Seek to Increase Hourly Wage Rates Above 15 Per Cent Authorized by Government

Now that the heat of the election is over and Congress has reassembled, the nation is once more settling down to the task of dealing with some of the pressing problems on the home front which demand attention. Among the most important of these are problems relating to labor. Last week, the national spotlight turned to one large segment of organized labor as the American Federation of Labor, one of the two large organizations representing unionized workers, opened its annual convention at New Orleans. There the viewpoint of labor was being expressed on dozens of national issues.

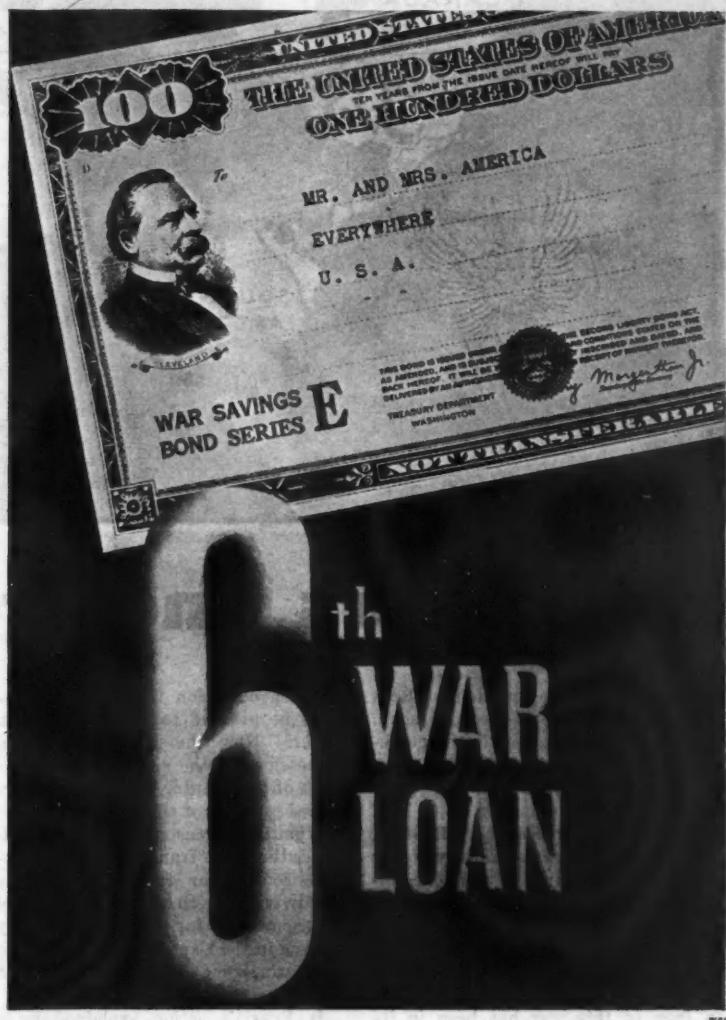
At the same time, there were numerous developments in Washington bearing upon labor relations. One of the more important of these was the report that President Roosevelt was making plans to reorganize the numerous government agencies which deal with labor disputes. Issues affecting wage policies were also coming to a head, having been held up during the political campaign. Thus labor problems are likely to loom large during the weeks ahead. Among the more important of these are the following:

Little Steel Formula: This formula or policy was adopted by the federal government in July, 1942, and has been the basis upon which wage disputes have been handled since that time. The Little Steel Formula was laid down in the case of a dispute between the workers and employers of the nation's steel companies, except the United States Steel, which is referred to as "Big Steel." The decision provided that the workers were entitled to a 15 per cent increase in their hourly wages above the scale in effect in January, 1941. The War Labor Board, which handed down the decision, contended that the "Little Steel" workers were entitled to that increase because the cost of living had increased 15 per cent since January, 1941.

Since the Little Steel Formula was handed down, the government has attempted to keep wages within that range. In handling disputes for higher wages, the Board has generally authorized increases amounting to 15 per cent above the January, 1941, level, but no more.

For many months, workers in many industries, acting through their unions, have tried to break the Little Steel Formula. They have argued that the Formula is fair to workers only

(Continued on page 6)



Laying the Foundation

By Walter E. Myer

Are students who make good grades in school more likely to succeed in life than those whose grades are poor or only fair? I have written editorials on this subject before and will probably do so again, for the question is an extremely important one. Students discuss it frequently and there is much disagreement concerning the answer. In one high school where students were asked their opinions the vote was two to one in favor of the proposition that school grades have very little to do with success later in life. This idea seems to be quite popular everywhere.

In my opinion students who hold this view are mistaken. My own observation leads me to this conclusion. When I was teaching in high school I was consulted by many employers about the qualifications of young people who were applying for jobs, and in practically every case these employers wanted to know about the grades which the applicants had made. I know that other teachers and principals have had a similar experience. Employers are almost invariably interested in school records.

Why is the employer so much concerned about grades? In most cases, it is not because he thinks that the facts which the student learned in his high school courses will be particularly helpful to him in doing his work. The employer thinks, however, that the qualities in the individual which made him a good student will also make him a good employee. If one is attentive to his work; if he takes care of details; if he is conscientious and undertakes to master the work which is assigned from day to day and week to week; if he does more than is required because of his desire for excellence, he is likely to be a good student. It is also clear that these very qualities and habits will lead him to do good work at whatever job he undertakes outside of school.

Life is largely a matter of habit. If one gets into the habit of performing his tasks in a superior way while he is in school, he is likely to continue the same habits. If, on the other hand, he gets into the habit of being satisfied with mediocrity, of dodging tasks which are difficult, of doing only that which he is driven to do, it is almost certain that the same slovenly habits will be continued later in life and will condemn him to mediocrity or failure.

Big Powers Dispute Iranian Oil Control

Russian Demands for Concessions Raise Issue over Future Efforts at Cooperation

PETROLEUM DEPOSITS EXTENSIVE

Fourth Largest in World, Seen as Playing Important Role in World's Postwar Needs

The oil fields of Iran may become the testing ground for Russian, American, and British cooperation. Already there are storm signals as disputes have arisen among the three nations over the future control of Iranian oil. Russia has requested a share in the control of this oil and Soviet newspapers have sharply attacked the Iranian government for failure to grant concessions. They have accused that government of favoring British and American interests. These attacks are said to have been responsible for the resignation of the Iranian premier and his cabinet.

Although this problem may appear to be small in itself, it is a part of, and typical of, the bigger problems which the nations of the world must face in the fields of distribution of natural resources, foreign trade, control of aviation, and dozens of other areas of economic activity (see page 3). No one problem of itself may appear to be critically important, but unless each is dealt with as it arises and settled to the satisfaction of those directly affected by it, resulting disagreements will certainly multiply as other problems are tackled.

Iran and Middle East

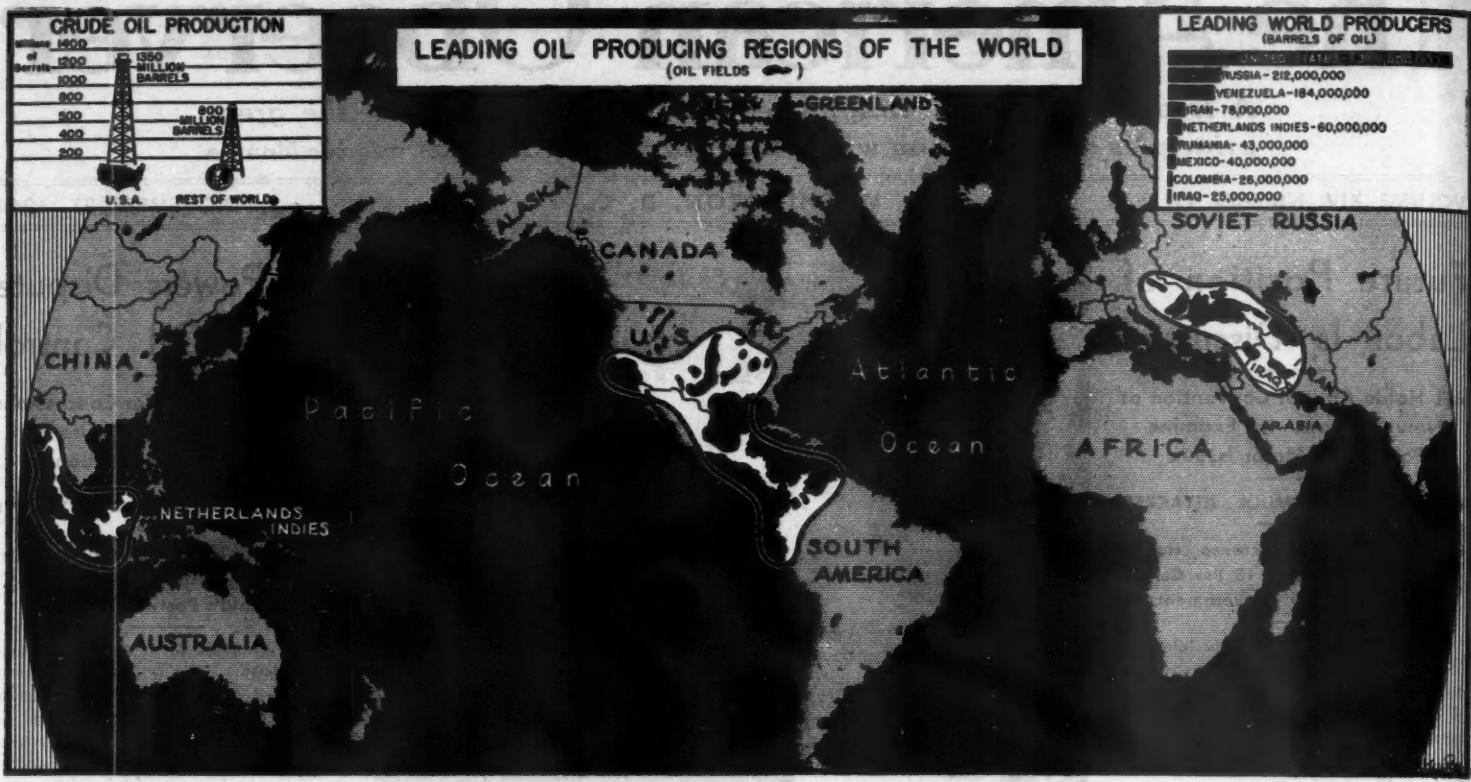
In order to understand the present conflict over oil, we need to know something of Iran and the Middle East area which is the hub of three continents, the importance of its oil, and the position of the major powers toward it.

The 628,000 square miles of Iran, formerly known as Persia, stretches from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf and from Turkey and Iraq to India and Afghanistan. With about one-fifth our area, Iran has a population of more than 15 million, slightly more than one-tenth as great as ours. In ancient times, it was a great empire which, under rulers like Darius, who founded it some 2,500 years ago, stretched from the Indus River to the Aegean Sea.

In the past, the people of Iran have lived in poverty and backwardness, terrorized by the cruel raids of tribal chiefs, struggling to live by tilling the arid soil and grazing flocks outside the villages, weaving Persian rugs by hand in the cities, always hampered by dirt, heat, and disease.

Although racially different from the Arabs, the Persians are tied to the Arab world by the Moslem religion.

(Continued on page 2)



The Great Powers and Iran's Oil

(Concluded from page 1)

They believe that Allah has decided their fates, and as a result they are cheerful and rarely worry. (When American Army trucks began carrying lend-lease supplies through Iran to Russia, only the American drivers worried about the many traffic accidents which resulted from Iranians' walking casually into the paths of oncoming trucks. To the natives, whatever happened was Allah's will!)

Iran has long been a bone of contention between the Russians and the British. Before the last war, for example, the northern section of the country was largely a Russian "sphere of influence," whereas the southern half was dominated by the British. It was only through the efforts of Reza Pahlevi, who seized control after the war, that the country assumed a semblance of independence and became a power in its own right.

Country Strengthened

Although Reza Pahlevi ruled the country as a despot, he succeeded in strengthening the country. He built a relatively strong army, crushed the tribal chiefs who had held the country disunited, launched a program of education, and instituted a program of modern civil and criminal law codes. More important, he constructed roads, harbors, public buildings, and the Trans-Iranian Railroad, connecting the Persian Gulf with the Caspian Sea.

During the early stages of the present war, when the Axis powers were winning victory after victory, there was danger that the Allies might be decisively defeated in the Middle East. Axis agents had penetrated all the countries of the region, attempting to turn the Arab world against the Allies. Mussolini set himself up as "Protector of the Islamic World."

In order to forestall an Axis move which might bring Iran and all the Middle East securely under German and Italian control, Russia and Britain sent troops into Iran in August, 1941.

They forced the resignation of Reza Pahlevi and his son became shah. Russian troops remained in the northern part of the country and British in the south.

Since the occupation of 1941, Iran has been the one place where Russian, British, and American military forces were in direct contact with one another. The Americans were in Iran to enlarge ports and facilitate the transportation of lend-lease supplies from the Persian Gulf into Russia.

But if the Allies' principal interest in Iran in this war has been in its strategic location, the long-range problems relate to oil. That remote land has long been the world's fourth producer of this vital material. Its fields produce an estimated 80 million tons a year, about the amount produced by the state of Kansas. At the head of the Persian Gulf, in southwest Iran, lies the richest single oil field in the world. Even more important is the fact that much of the oil of Iran remains undeveloped.

Oil has long been the greatest source of Iran's economic strength. In normal times, it accounts for 50 to 60 per cent of the country's total export trade. Moreover, royalties on the oil concessions granted the British have been a lucrative source of revenue to the Iranian government. The oil wells and refineries in British hands are in the control of the British government itself.

The British have a vital stake in the oil not only of Iran but also of neighboring countries in the Middle East. They have extensive holdings in Iraq and own the oil resources of the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf. With few oil resources of their own, the British feel dependent upon the oil of the Middle East to fuel their merchant and naval vessels.

Until recently, Russia has shown little interest in the oil of Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. In 1921, she voluntarily relinquished the oil concessions she held in northern

Iran, on condition that these concessions be granted to no other foreign power. Now the Russians demand concessions in the northern five provinces of the country, the provinces occupied by units of the Red Army.

What is the reason for Russia's sudden interest in Iranian oil? The explanation is far from clear. It is hardly probable that the Russians feel an urgent need for petroleum, for they possess in the Caucasus and elsewhere in Russia, some of the world's largest deposits.

Is Russia's action explained by a fear that the United States and Britain may seek to gain control over the only remaining undeveloped oil resources of the world, those of the Middle East? Possibly. The United States and England have been discussing their future oil problems. They signed an agreement late last summer on postwar oil problems, which, among other things, provided for the establishment of an Anglo-American commission to deal with oil in international trade.

Russian Fears

It may be that the Russians fear that the United States and Britain are trying to control all the oil of the Middle East. Both have recently requested concessions of the Iranian government which, together with the Russian request, were rejected. The Parliament of Iran has declared that it will not consider the question of foreign oil concessions until after the war.

The Russians are aware of the increased interest which the United States government has been taking in foreign oil. Last year, for example, there was an official government plan for the construction of an oil pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean. Although this project was poorly received and has apparently been abandoned, it reveals the interest which our government is taking in future oil problems.

The main reason, of course, why the United States government is taking an increased interest in foreign oil is that the war has made great inroads upon our petroleum resources. Roughly 85 per cent of the oil used by the United Nations in this war has come from the Western Hemisphere—from the United States, Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia. In order to prevent the further depletion of our reserves, the United States hopes to develop supplies elsewhere in the world, especially in the Middle East, so that after the war many of the needs of Europe can be supplied from that source.

The direct interest of our government in oil marks a sharp departure from past policy. In the past, it has been private American companies which have developed foreign oil resources. These companies have great stakes in the oil of the world—in Latin America, Europe, the Middle and Far East. When the Arabian pipeline project was announced, it was an indication that the government itself was taking a hand in future oil developments.

However the present dispute between Russia and Iran is settled, the issues raised point to the difficulties to be encountered in postwar international relations. This particular dispute presents a challenge to all the United Nations. If the individual members are planning to go ahead making their own decisions, without taking into account the interests of other nations and without consulting them, growing friction will be the only result.

As pointed out earlier in this article, the conflict over Iranian oil involves more than the question of who shall control the petroleum resources of that country. It involves the far more vital question of how the powerful members of the United Nations are to deal with one another when their interests come into conflict, and also how they are to deal with small countries.

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Businessmen Discuss Foreign Trade

In the city of Rye, New York, businessmen from all over the world held a conference from November 10 to 18, which took up one of the most important problems of the postwar period. That was the problem of increasing foreign trade after the war. Unlike other international conferences which have been held since the war, this meeting was not a gathering of government representatives, but rather of private business concerns. Businessmen from 52 nations assembled in Rye to consider ways of expanding international trade.

The conference was sponsored by four of America's leading organizations of businessmen and manufacturers—the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the National Foreign Trade Council. Similar organizations in other nations sent delegates, most of whom had to travel under great difficulties.

This "International Business Conference" did not commit the businessmen of any country to definite postwar policies, but it afforded an opportunity to the leaders of industry in all countries to discuss the problems they must face after the war if foreign trade is to be revived. In this way, the delegates will be in a position to discuss these problems with their respective governments and help to shape post-war policies.

The conference studied eight big problems, all of which have a direct bearing upon postwar foreign trade. These included cartels, commercial policy among nations, currency regulations, encouragement and protection of investments, industrialization in new areas, private enterprise, raw materials and foodstuffs, and transportation and communications.

Many of these subjects appear highly technical and uninteresting to the average citizen, but there are few problems which will affect his future life more directly. If ways are not found to revive foreign trade and to expand it after the war, world-wide depression will follow the war, trade rivalry will become acute, and it will be impossible to establish harmonious political relations among nations.

Failure of the nations of the world to deal successfully with these problems after the last war was largely responsible for the present world tragedy. When the guns ceased firing in 1918, the nations refused to make plans whereby international commerce could flourish. Rather, foreign trade became more difficult with each passing year. Nations erected such high tariff barriers around their frontiers that it was difficult, if not impossible, for foreigners to sell their goods in those countries. They used many other devices to keep imports down.

At the same time, each nation took steps to sell as much abroad as possible. Sometimes, the governments paid manufacturers enough to offset losses so that products could be sold in foreign markets at lower prices than goods from other countries. Thus there was a wild scramble for world markets accompanied by much bitterness. Germany's military conquests of many European countries were preceded by economic conquest—by grabbing the markets of those countries.

If the world is to avoid a repetition of the tragic breakdown of foreign

trade, the nations must find ways by which commerce among nations may be expanded. And the problems which will confront them at the end of this conflict will be far more difficult than those of a quarter of a century ago because this war has brought far more violent economic dislocations.

The United States itself will have to meet problems the like of which it has never known. Our future prosperity will depend upon how well we solve the problems. We must have an expanding foreign trade after the war if we are to avoid large-scale continuous unemployment. The war has brought such gigantic increases in production that we will be dependent upon foreign markets if our farms and factories are to avoid tragic depression.

The farmer alone offers an excellent example of the nature of the problem. Our farm production today is at an all-time high. Not only are we feeding the American civilian population and 11 million members of the armed forces, but we are also sending farm products of all kinds to our Allies, under lend-lease arrangements.

production unless a flourishing export trade can be found.

During the war, we have built the largest merchant marine in the world, nearly as large now as that of the entire world in 1939. Will we be able to use this merchant marine in peacetime commerce? If so, what effect will this have upon the other nations which will want to carry on foreign trade in their own ships?

The synthetic rubber industry demonstrates another aspect of the problem. Before the war, nearly all our rubber was imported. Now we are producing 84 per cent of our prewar needs by synthetic methods. This industry has been built at a cost of \$700,000,000 to the American taxpayer. If we continue to use synthetic rubber, produced in our own factories, what will happen to the natural rubber produced by the British and Dutch in the Far East?

If by some magic formula we could find a way to sell our goods throughout the world without having to worry about buying foreign goods, most of our problems would be solved. But

bankruptcy. It is conservatively estimated, for example, that England alone will need at least a billion dollars a year worth of goods for the first few years after peace in order to restore her industry and feed her people. The only way for England to pay for these goods will be to revive her own foreign trade as quickly as possible. If we refuse to accept British goods, or if we attempt to beat the British to all the markets of the world, a violent trade war is likely to ensue.

Other countries will be even more economically devastated than England, having been subject to the physical destruction of war. With much of the industry and agriculture of Europe near ruin, foreign capital will be necessary for the period of reconstruction. Much of this capital will have to be provided by the United States or by American investors. However, care must be taken in protecting the American investments and in making sure that the funds are used to put European economy on a sound basis.

No one assumes that all the problems relating to postwar foreign trade



The future prosperity of the world depends upon breaking down barriers to international trade

CESARE IN N. Y. TIMES

Unless a large part of American farm production can be sold abroad after the war, surpluses will pile up and the American farmer will suffer.

At the same time, American industry is geared to a level where foreign outlets must be found for its peacetime production. While the domestic market will be able to absorb many of the products of American factories, such as automobiles, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and hundreds of others which have not been produced during the war, this pent-up demand will not be sufficient to keep our factories running continuously at full

unfortunately there is no such easy solution. Foreign trade is a two-way channel. We can sell abroad only if we buy foreign goods. The only way foreigners can pay for our goods is to sell us goods in return, and hence we must be prepared to accept that fact. As Robert Gaylord, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, pointed out at the Rye conference: "If we are to export goods we must receive payment for them in raw materials and in the manufactured goods of other nations."

The coming of peace will find most of the world in a state approaching

will take care of themselves by letting nature take its course, as the world did after the last war. Wise decisions must be made by governments and industries of all countries if utter chaos is to be prevented. These decisions cannot be worked out in a week or a month. They will not be worked out at all unless the problems are faced frankly and honestly and unless each nation understands the position of other countries. That is why the world's leading business and industrial leaders met in Rye. They have taken a preliminary step on the path of international cooperation in this field.

The Story of the Week

The War Fronts

Last week, the long-expected Allied winter offensive in Europe appeared to be well under way. Launched on November 16, six mighty Allied armies began pressing against the German westwall along a 300-mile front, extending from Holland to the border of Switzerland. Perhaps a million and a half men were involved in the "big push." Four American armies—the First, Third, Seventh, and Ninth—in addition to the British Second and the French First, were hurling their might against the enemy.

The big offensive was preceded by a powerful air assault all along the Western Front by American and British planes, and by one of the most powerful artillery barrages in history. The immediate objective will be to find a weak spot in the Siegfried Line and to effect a break-through as was done at Saint Lo last summer.

A tense world will await the outcome of General Eisenhower's new offensive. If it succeeds, Germany may be defeated this winter and the war in Europe may end, except for guerrilla fighting inside Germany. It is possible, however, that the Allies may not have sufficient supplies to complete the job with this offensive and that the war in Europe may carry into 1945.

On the eastern front, principal attention is focused upon the Russian campaign in Hungary. The Red armies have driven to within a dozen miles of Budapest, the capital city, and its fall is regarded as imminent. The fall of this city will clear the way for a major offensive into Germany from the southeast. As a matter of fact, it is expected that the grand assault from the east will be synchronized with the big western offensive.

American troops, fighting for the reconquest of the Philippines, have been handicapped by unfavorable weather conditions. On Leyte Island, a severe typhoon has made our operations more difficult. Those who had expected the Philippine campaign to be short will be disappointed, for the job of wresting the islands from the Japanese will be long and difficult. It is estimated that Japanese reinforcements, since our landings on October 20, have amounted to 35,000 troops, to replace their losses.

The news from China continues bad.

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STATES	ELECTORAL VOTES		GOVERNORS		SENATE		HOUSE MEMBERS	
	ROOSEVELT	DEWEY	DEM.	REP.	IND.	DEM.	REP.	IND.
ALABAMA	11	10	2	1	1	9	2	1
ARIZONA	4	4	2	2	1	2	2	1
ARKANSAS	9	9	2	2	1	7	2	1
CALIFORNIA	25	25	1	1	1	16	7	2
COLORADO	4	4	1	1	1	4	4	1
CONNECTICUT	8	8	2	2	1	4	4	1
DELAWARE	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
FLORIDA	8	8	2	2	1	6	6	1
GEORGIA	12	12	2	2	1	10	2	1
IDAHO	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
ILLINOIS	28	28	1	1	1	11	13	1
INDIANA	15	15	2	2	1	2	5	1
IOWA	10	10	2	2	1	5	5	1
KANSAS	9	9	2	2	1	6	6	1
KENTUCKY	11	11	2	2	1	8	2	1
LOUISIANA	10	10	1	1	1	8	8	1
MAINE	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
MARYLAND	8	8	2	2	1	5	1	1
MASSACHUSETTS	16	16	1	1	1	4	10	1
MICHIGAN	19	19	2	2	1	6	11	1
MINNESOTA	11	11	2	2	1	2	7	1
MISSISSIPPI	9	9	1	1	1	7	1	1
MISSOURI	15	15	1	1	1	9	4	1
MONTANA	4	4	1	1	1	2	2	1
NEBRASKA	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
NEVADA	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	1
NEW JERSEY	16	16	2	2	1	12	12	1
NEW MEXICO	4	4	1	1	1	2	2	1
NEW YORK	47	47	2	2	1	22	14	1
N. CAROLINA	14	14	1	1	1	12	1	1
N. DAKOTA	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
OHIO	25	25	1	1	1	6	12	1
OKLAHOMA	10	10	1	1	1	6	2	1
OREGON	6	6	1	1	1	4	1	1
PENNSYLVANIA	35	35	2	2	1	15	16	1
RHODE ISLAND	4	4	1	1	1	4	1	1
S. CAROLINA	8	8	1	1	1	6	1	1
S. DAKOTA	4	4	1	1	1	2	2	1
TENNESSEE	12	12	1	1	1	8	2	1
TEXAS	23	23	1	1	1	3	1	1
UTAH	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
VERMONT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
VIRGINIA	11	11	1	1	1	9	1	1
WASHINGTON	5	5	1	1	1	4	2	1
W. VIRGINIA	8	8	1	1	1	5	1	1
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WYOMING	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
TOTALS	432	432	25	23	1	244	188	1

quoted excuse that he is too busy with the war effort has not been widely credited.

There are a number of theories about what has happened to him. One report from Switzerland has him undergoing an operation. Another from Sweden pronounces him suffering from paralysis. There are others that he has left Germany and fled to Spain or Japan.

Whether he is sick or well, in Germany or elsewhere, it seems certain that Hitler has lost much of his power to Heinrich Himmler, sinister Gestapo leader. After the attempted assassination, Himmler was given broad authority over the German home front. As head of the recently formed People's Army, he also wields important military power. How much he has to say about the grand strategy of the war is, of course, debatable, but he is rapidly becoming the most important leader in the Reich. By the end of the war, Hitler himself may be nothing more than a symbol, both for us and for the German people.

Secret Weapons

The threat of "secret weapons" has long been a favorite Nazi propaganda device. Now V-2, the second of these to be launched this year, has gone into action against Britain and Allied positions in Holland and Belgium. Like V-1, the celebrated robot bomb, V-2 is a rocket-propelled missile carrying an extremely heavy load of explosives.

Resembling a flying telegraph pole, V-2 is about 40 feet long and five feet in diameter. It soars to a height of 60 or 70 miles—higher than any missile of any kind ever fired by man. It has a range of 250 to 300 miles and travels as fast as 4,000 miles an hour. Because of its great speed, it cannot be heard until after it has struck.

Prime Minister Churchill reports that V-2 damage in Britain so far has not been very heavy. Around the port of Antwerp, however, it has seriously hindered our progress. At its present stage of development, it seems unlikely that the Nazis could use the new bomb against this country. Army and Navy experts think that V-2 might be launched against our eastern coast from suicide squads of planes or submarines, but feel sure that no large-scale attack is possible. The major use of the new weapon is to build up German morale at a time when the war is going badly for the Axis, according to most experts.

Hague and the Charter

Not every political leader whose power was challenged in the recent election was actually a candidate for office. Jersey City's Mayor Hague is an example of one who was not. It was a referendum on a new state constitution which put his status to the test.

As mayor of Jersey City and head of a statewide Democratic machine, Hague has been a dominant figure in New Jersey politics for a quarter of a century. In recent years, however, reformers have been fighting hard to overthrow him.

Four years ago, Governor Charles Edison, bitter enemy of Hague, began to call for revision of the state constitution in the hope of outlawing Hague's type of boss rule. Last spring,

(Although all the election returns have not yet been tabulated, the above chart shows the outcome as it now stands)

After weeks of intense fighting, the Japanese have succeeded in capturing the cities of Kweilin and Liuchow, in Kwangsi province in the south. Not only were these cities the last major bases for the American air forces in southern China, but they were also vital railroad centers. By seizing them, the Japanese have virtually cut China in two and are now in a position to take strong action against any landing which the Americans might attempt in southern China.

Russia and Japan

Ever since Russia became one of the United Nations there has been widespread speculation as to whether she would go to war against Japan and, if so, when. Until now, the Russians have been very careful to remain non-committal on this point. Soviet relations with Japan have been completely correct, and most United Nations conferences have been conducted in two parts so that Russia should not give even the appearance of collaboration in the planning of the Far Eastern War.

Now, however, there is strong evidence that the Russians may be preparing to take action against Japan. In a recent speech, Premier Stalin bluntly characterized the country as

an aggressor nation. Word has also come through that the Soviet government is sponsoring a Korean committee of liberation in Siberia.

Most observers have expected Russia to take part in the Far Eastern War eventually. Remembering their defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, the Russians have an old score to settle with Japan. It is believed that they would like to enlarge their Pacific holdings at her expense—specifically by getting back the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. But most opinion was that the Russians would wait until the end of the war in Europe before mobilizing on a new front. Recent developments indicate that this may not be the case.

If Russia goes to war against Japan, victory in this theater will undoubtedly be speeded. Russian troops will be able to divert large Japanese forces in China and our planes may be able to bomb Japan itself from Siberian bases.

Where Is Hitler?

Once more the old rumor that Hitler is ill, dead, or out of power, has come into the news. The German dictator has made no public appearance since he told the world of the unsuccessful attempt on his life last July, and his



POSTWAR PROJECT. An artist's sketch of the Plymouth that will be built after the war. Plymouth was one of England's most heavily bombed cities during the dark days of the blitz.

the state legislature voted to replace the 100-year-old New Jersey charter with an entirely new constitution. The new constitution provided for a simplified judicial system, tighter controls over public funds, a more direct amendment process, and a stronger executive branch in the state government. It also authorized the legislature to fix standards of value for taxation throughout the state.

This was a multiple threat to Hague. It meant the elimination of the Court of Errors and Appeals—the state's highest court—which his appointees currently dominate. It also meant an end to the fabulous Jersey City tax revenues. By placing extremely high valuations on all property, Hague has made Jersey City the highest taxed city of its size in the country.

The new constitution was indorsed by both Democrats and Republicans. The soldier vote, cast without pressure from the Hague machine, favored it by a ratio of six to one. But, mobilizing all his resources, Hague was able to bring about the rejection of the charter and preserve his own power.

Closed Shop Issue

The closed shop is one of the most controversial goals of organized labor. Union leaders want their contracts with employers to stipulate that only

union members will be employed. They also want "maintenance of membership" clauses included—clauses requiring workers to keep up their union membership for the contract period. To both of these, employers are usually hostile.

Although organized labor has had the support of the War Labor Board in its efforts to promote the closed shop and the maintenance of membership rule, the legal status of these principles has never been entirely clear. Now, however, it seems likely that the Supreme Court will decide on their validity.

Florida and Arkansas voters have just approved state constitutional amendments making the closed shop illegal. The Arkansas amendment also bans maintenance of membership rules. The AFL, which campaigned against the two amendments, now plans to challenge them as unconstitutional, bringing the whole question before the Supreme Court.

The Irish Refuse

By now almost all this war's neutrals have taken steps to place themselves, in sympathy at least, on the side of the Allies. One conspicuous exception is Eire, which has once again defied the United Nations by refusing to pledge that it will not

SMILES

Junior: "Say, Pop, the teacher asked me to find the greatest common divisor." Daddy: "Great Scott! Is that thing still lost?" ★ ★ ★

The sergeant snapped at the rookie for the shoes he wore to parade, and the recruit explained that he had used them in civilian life.

"Well," said the sergeant, "I suppose you had a high silk hat, too. Why don't you wear that here, too?"

"Don't be silly," said the new soldier. "Who ever heard of wearing a top hat with brown shoes?" ★ ★ ★

Jack, writing to a dealer: "Sir: please send me two mongooses."

He didn't like the looks of that so he wrote another letter: "Sir: please send me two mongooses."

Still not satisfied, he finally sent this note: "Sir: please send me a mongoose; and by the way, send me another."

Ruth and Jimmy, side by side, Went out for an auto ride. Jim hit a bump; Ruth hit a tree; And Jimmy kept on going Ruthlessly. ★ ★ ★

Tommy: "I'm sure in a spot in school." George: "How's that?"

Tommy: "Teacher says I must write better, but if I do, she'll find out that I can't spell."

Father was asking his three children about their behavior during the day. "Oh, we've been good," said little Nancy. "I washed the dishes."

"And I wiped them," added Peter.

"And I picked up the pieces," chimed in Dicky.

★ ★ ★

"I went away for change and rest." "Hope you had a nice time." "No. The hotel waiters got my change, and the manager got the rest."



harbor escaping Axis war criminals.

Pointing to the lack of clear international law on the subject, the Irish have reserved the right to decide for themselves who shall be given sanctuary within their borders and who shall not. The only commitment they will make is that the government policy of deporting undesirable aliens will be continued.

Unlike certain of the other neutrals, Eire had nothing to gain from an Axis victory in the present war. Had Britain fallen, the Irish would undoubtedly have met a similar fate. But because of her longstanding grievances against Britain, Eire has pursued an obstructionist course throughout the war, denying needed bases to our forces, and permitting enemy espionage systems to operate unmolested.

Postwar Lend-Lease

Most Americans think of the lend-lease arrangement for sending billions of dollars worth of goods to our allies as strictly a war measure—a means of helping them help us fight the Axis. From this point of view, the suggestion that we not only continue lend-lease after the war but, where Britain is concerned, permit the resale of lend-lease goods is hard to justify. To many people, it recalls the period after the last war when we lent huge sums of money to other countries and received no return.

But there is sound reasoning behind the proposal. As British spokesmen explain it, a strong and prosperous Britain is essential to our own security. Our plans for military security after the war are all built on the assumption that Britain will be our ally. To be valuable in this capacity, she must be prosperous enough to keep well armed and to maintain her influence throughout the world.

British prosperity, like our own, depends upon world trade. And Britain, busy with the job of reconstruction at home, cannot produce enough goods for export immediately after the war to keep her dominant position in the world's markets. The British argue that we should fill in the gap by providing her with goods to sell. In doing so, they contend, we will also be benefiting our own economy, for with the

money obtained through exporting, the British can buy our exports.

Canadian Conscription

One of the basic political divisions in Canada—between citizens of British and French descent—has been sharpened recently over the question of reinforcing Canadian troops overseas. Conceding to French-Canadian opposition to the war, the government has followed a policy of sending abroad only those draftees who volunteer to go. Now that Canadian forces in Europe have suffered heavy casualties, many people feel that all available men should be sent to reinforce them.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, upholding the volunteer system, asserts that existing shortages of reinforcements cannot be met by forcing the troops at home to serve overseas. It is in the infantry that shortages are serious, and only about 8,000 of the so-called "zombies," or home service men, are trained infantrymen. He believes that enough reinforcements can be obtained by further recruitment and by a campaign to persuade home service



INT'L NEWS

NEED IS GREAT. Among the many articles of clothing needed by Europe's populations, shoes stand high on the list. A big shipment of shoes, recently arrived from the United States, is ready for distribution in Italy.

men to volunteer for overseas duty.

Attempting to minimize the implication that French Canada is not cooperating in the war effort, King also pointed out that less than half of the "zombies" are French-speaking citizens. Protests from military men and veterans organizations, however, indicate that the controversy is not yet closed.

Questions from the News

1. What recent controversy has developed over future control of the oil of Iran?

2. How does Iran rank among the oil-producing nations of the world?

3. Why has the United States government recently taken an interest in foreign oil?

4. What is the military importance of Iran to the Allies?

5. What is the Little Steel Formula and why is organized labor trying to modify it?

6. What are the main arguments against changing it?

7. Who is chairman of the War Labor Board?

8. What are the main functions of the Board?

9. Cite a few examples of the problems which must be solved in order to expand foreign trade after the war.

10. What position in Congress is held by the following men: Sam Rayburn; Alben W. Barkley; Joseph W. Martin; Robert Ramspeck?

11. Name five of the nine women in the next Congress.

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Pronunciations

Kwangsi—gwahng'see'

Kweilin—gway'lin'

Linchow—lee'oo'chow'

Reza Pahlevi—ree'zeh pah-leh-vee'

Saudi Arabia—sah-ooh'dee'

Sakhalin—sah-kah-leen'



Should the Little Steel Formulas be broken to permit wage increases to the nation's workers?

SCOTT

Labor and Its Problems

(Concluded from page 1)

If the cost of living is held down to the 15 per cent increase, but that, as a matter of fact, it has not been held to that figure. Despite all the efforts of the OPA to hold prices in check, there has been a substantial increase. There is dispute as to the extent of the rise, but no one denies that the cost of living has increased at least 25 per cent above the January, 1941, level. This means that prices have risen at least 10 per cent more than wages. Food prices, which constitute a major item in all workers' cost of living, have increased even more—nearly 50 per cent since January, 1941.

In most cases, it is true, the workers' weekly take-home pay has been more than sufficient to offset the increased cost of living. This is due to the fact that most of them do a considerable amount of overtime work. For this overtime they receive time-and-a-half, and in some cases, double time. Those who have considerable overtime are thus better off than they were before the war because of the increase in their total weekly pay, even though their hourly rates have failed to rise as fast as the cost of living.

Labor leaders know, however, that as soon as the war is over in Europe, a great deal of overtime will be eliminated, and that probably all of it will stop when Japan is defeated. This will mean that the weekly earnings of workers will take a sharp drop and that they will no longer be sufficient to offset the increased cost of living. Hence, the leaders are determined to act now to protect their workers. They are insisting that *hourly* rates be raised at least enough to make up for increased prices. Then when the overtime work is eliminated, workers will be receiving higher hourly earnings,

and hence will not suffer a sharp decline in their living standards.

Those who oppose higher hourly wage rates for workers contend that, if increases are granted, many employers will have to raise their prices still further, thereby causing a general rise in prices. Then, workers will be no better off than before. Moreover, all consumers will suffer and the brakes on inflation will be released. If inflation is effectively to be checked, it is argued, both prices and wages must be held in line. Unless this is done, higher wages will lead to higher prices which in turn will lead to still higher wages, and before we know it the nation will be in the midst of ruinous inflation.

Labor leaders reply that wages can be increased without raising prices. They claim that industrial profits are at an all-time high. They argue, further, that there are many workers in the country who are not working overtime and who have thus suffered sharp declines in their standards of living as a result of the increased cost of living.

The War Labor Board: This key government agency is itself an issue. It was created shortly after we entered the war to handle labor disputes which could not be settled by the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor. It is composed of 12 members, appointed by the President. Four of them represent labor, four employers, and four the general public. There are also 12 regional boards which take the preliminary steps in handling disputes and which actually settle a great many of them.

William H. Davis is chairman of the War Labor Board. He is one of the four members representing the public. He desires to resign, but President Roosevelt has urged him to

stay on until Germany is defeated.

The WLB has had an extremely difficult job on its hands. Its labor members (two belong to the American Federation of Labor and two to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or CIO) have frequently fought among themselves in cases involving their rival organizations. The members representing employers have often come into conflict with those representing labor. The members representing the public have been accused at times of being partial to labor and of showing favoritism to labor.

Despite its many difficulties and its internal disputes, the War Labor Board has been highly successful in handling labor disputes which might have disrupted the war production program. Its record shows that even though its members represent conflicting groups and interests they have frequently been in agreement and have acted speedily and fairly. Whether or not this agency will continue to play a leading role in adjusting industrial disputes for the remainder of the war, we do not know. There are indications that the Department of Labor, whose Conciliation Service was the chief agency for settling disputes in peacetime, may be strengthened and given more authority.

Conflict between AFL and CIO: The dispute between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is not a recent development. In 1935, a number of unions which had been affiliated with the AFL broke away and established the CIO, thus setting up two rival organizations. Both organizations have grown in membership since that time, but all attempts to bring them together into a single body have failed.

In the main, the membership of the AFL has been made up of unions of craft workers; that is, workers who perform skilled work of specialized kinds, such as carpenters and machinists, regardless of the industries in which they are employed. The leaders of the CIO felt that the great rank and file of American workers should be organized and set out to unionize the workers of the automobile, steel, rubber, and many other great industries which had hitherto remained unorganized. The CIO laid emphasis upon organizing the workers throughout entire industries, without attention to the type of work they performed. In this way, the CIO succeeded in bringing into unions millions of unskilled workers who had never been organized by the AFL.

There have been many disputes between the two organizations. In certain cases, a union affiliated with the AFL has gone into an industry and tried to organize the workers at the same time that a CIO union was unionizing them. There are many industries in which both unions are represented and quarrels have arisen as to which union represented the workers. These jurisdictional disputes, as they are called, have often been the cause of as much friction as disputes between workers and employers over such matters as wages, hours, and other working conditions.

The rivalry between these two great organizations has become more intense as a result of the election. The CIO Political Action Committee, headed by Sidney Hillman, took an active part in the campaign and is generally given credit for "getting out the vote" on a large scale on behalf of President Roosevelt in the large industrial areas of the nation.

Leaders of the AFL fear that the CIO, because of its campaign activities, may now have more influence with the Roosevelt administration than their organization will have. Hence, they are watching developments closely. The AFL is also trying to increase its influence among all workers.

These are but a few of the great problems relating to labor. There are, of course, many others which may confront the nation in the weeks and months ahead. Among the more important are the following:

Will John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers continue to "go it alone," or will they merge with one of the other organizations. Lewis, it will be remembered, was the leader in the movement to establish the CIO and was its first president. Since breaking away from the CIO, he has made overtures to bring his union back into the AFL, but as yet no action has been taken.

What will be the attitude of returning service men toward labor unions?

Will the labor unions be successful in the attempt to become more democratic from within, to eliminate racketeers and abuses?

Will the government undertake to regulate labor unions more rigidly than it does at present?

Will the movement to organize workers into unions continue to grow after the war?

Will the closed shop (the arrangement under which only union labor may be employed in a particular plant) become more or less widely adopted after the war?

Are the political activities of organized labor, as represented by the CIO Political Action Committee, likely to increase in the future?

The Women in Congress

WHEN the 79th Congress convenes next January 3, nine women will take seats in the House of Representatives. There will be no woman in the Senate, however, for Mrs. Hattie Caraway, who has been a senator from Arkansas for the last 13 years, was defeated in the primaries. Only once before in history—in the winter of 1930-1931—have so many women served in the national legislature.

Of the nine women members of the new Congress, five are Republicans and four are Democrats. Six have served in previous Congresses. All but one bear the title "Mrs.", and three are widows of former representatives. Among the group are two former actresses, a college professor, and two authors. Two of them bear the same name—Douglas.

Probably the best known of these nine women is Clare Boothe Luce, Republican from Connecticut. The wife of Henry R. Luce, publisher of the influential magazines *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, she has made her own reputation and fortune as an author of books and plays, foreign correspondent, and magazine editor. Since she first came to Congress two years ago, Mrs. Luce has been especially active in debates on foreign affairs, and during the campaign this fall she was the No. 1 woman speaker for presidential nominee Thomas E. Dewey. Now 41, she is the youngest of the congresswomen.

Helen Gahagan Douglas, a newcomer who will serve as a Democratic representative from California, is often compared to Mrs. Luce. Both are unusually attractive, both are eloquent speakers and have been quite active in politics, and both are well known for their achievements in private life. Mrs. Douglas was for some years a Broadway actress and a singer in concert and opera. She has been particularly active in improving conditions of migratory workers in her state. She is the wife of screen actor Melvyn Douglas, now an Army captain in India. They have three children.

The other Mrs. Douglas—Emily Taft Douglas, Democrat of Illinois—is also a newcomer and also a former actress. She is the daughter of the world-famous sculptor, Lorado Taft, and the wife of a former professor of economics at the University of Chicago, Paul Douglas, who is now a Marine captain in the South Pacific. A constant student of politics, economics, and international affairs, Mrs. Douglas is a staunch advocate of close international cooperation. She has an 11-year-old daughter.

The third new woman member is Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, Democrat of Connecticut. At the present time a professor of economics at the Connecticut College for Women, she has already had much experience in public affairs, including a term as secretary of state for Connecticut. She is also director of the Women's Institute of Professional Relations, which has helped many women find careers in government and industry. An author and scholar, Mrs. Woodhouse has two sons, one of whom is in the Army Air Forces overseas.

Mrs. Mary T. Norton, Democrat of New Jersey, is a veteran in Congress, now serving her 20th year. Not only is she the oldest woman member of Congress in point of service, but she is also the first woman ever elected to Congress by the Democratic Party. She is chairman of the House Labor Committee, the first woman to be appointed chairman of a congressional committee.

Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican of Massachusetts, is also in her 20th year in the House, and runs a close second to Mrs. Norton in length of service. She was first elected in June, 1925, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband. Because she sponsored the legislation calling for creation of the Women's Army Corps, she is popularly known as "Mother of the Wacs." She did comparatively little campaigning before the recent election because she was abroad visiting wounded soldiers. She is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Miss Jessie Sumner, Republican of Illinois, has been in the House for the last three terms. A lawyer in private life, she was a county judge for several years before coming to Washington in 1939. She is a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee.

Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Republican of Ohio, has been in the House since February, 1940, when she was elected to fill the vacancy left by the death of her husband. She, too, did little campaigning before the last election since she was in London and Paris as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Mrs. Bolton was one of the few Republicans who received PAC-CIO backing during the election. The mother of three sons, she was active for many years in public health nursing, social service, education, and related fields.

Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, first came to Congress in June, 1940, and like Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Bolton she succeeded her husband in the House. She is a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. In private life she was formerly a school teacher and a successful business executive.

Mrs. Hampton P. Fulmer, a Democrat, was elected from South Carolina to fill the unexpired term of her late husband. She will remain in the House only for the few remaining weeks of the present session.



HAROLD M. LAMBERT PHOTO

The problems of the peace can be understood only by acquiring a wealth of information

Win-the-Peace Clubs

SUPPOSE you have decided to form a club for the discussion of post-war problems—particularly problems relating to the establishment of permanent peace. You have your club membership and your officers. You have decided upon the place and time of meeting. You have come together in a session of the club. What is the next step? What are you to talk about?

Our first suggestion is a negative one. We will start with a "don't." Do not feel that you must begin your work by arguing. Do not begin by stating a question such as, "Should the United States participate in a world organization to preserve peace?" That is a mistake which students make when they try to follow the example of the various forums whose programs are heard on the air. Argument is all right in its place. There will come a time when you will want to thresh out some particular point.

But arguments should follow the study of problems. They should not precede it. The first thing to do is to study a number of the separate problems, each of which must be dealt with in some way if permanent peace is to be established. Find out what these problems are, read about them, talk them over in a noncontentious way. Finally, after all the members of the club are familiar with the outstanding and admitted facts about these problems, differences of opinion will develop and these differences of opinion will naturally be aired in discussion or debate, but that stage will probably be reached several weeks after the members of the club have been conducting their meeting.

A good way to locate the problems you will want to study and to get information about them is to consult the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. You can obtain the *Guide* in your library. If it is not there, see to it that the library subscribes for it. If you will take the *Readers' Guide* dated October 10, you will find that it lists magazine articles which have appeared throughout 1944 up to that date. The subjects which have been treated in the magazines are listed alphabetically.

If you will turn to the subject "Peace," you will find the articles which have appeared during 1944 on the various aspects of problems relating to the establishment of an enduring

peace. The very first reference is an extremely important one. It is called "Agenda for Peace." The reference is to *The Annals of the American Academy* for July, 1944. This entire issue of the *Annals* is devoted to peace problems.

There are eighteen articles covering 131 pages in this number of the *Annals*. There are articles on the rehabilitation of Europe, on the way populations have been moved about in Europe and Asia, on the conditions which prevail in Europe today, on the means by which we may bind up the "wounds of war." There are other articles on the way certain countries like Italy are being reconstructed. There is a long article on "the small European nations after the war"—articles on Russia and on labor after the war. There is also a section on "postwar organization and cooperation." These are but a few of the subjects covered in the July issue of the *Annals*. All articles are written by authorities in the various fields and thus form an excellent basis for the essential factual background.

Single numbers of the *Annals* may be obtained for \$2, and we recommend the July issue as one which your club should obtain. When you have it, it would be a good thing to assign the different articles to the various members of the club. At the next meeting, the members may report on what they have read, and in that way, a picture of the separate problems we face can be obtained by all the club.

You will find references to other magazine articles in the *Annals*. All of these articles, or those which seem important, can be assigned to different members of the club for reading and for reports.

You need not depend wholly upon magazine articles. It would be a good thing to become familiar with a number of the books which are appearing on the subject of establishing a permanent peace. All of the students who participate in the club work may not have time to read books, but some of them will, and it will be well for them to outline to the club some of the problems defined and explained in the books which they read.

(Next week we shall discuss some of the steps which may be taken after the preliminary reading here outlined has been done.)



DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Helen Gahagan Douglas

The Democratic Process

The Organization of Congress

THE new Congress elected early this month will face a task of unparalleled difficulty and importance when it comes together for the first time January 3. It will be called upon to decide not only the nation's future role in international affairs but also the measures necessary to assure post-war progress and prosperity at home.



Sam Rayburn
Speaker of the House

In grappling with these issues, the new Congress will be meeting still another test—a test of its effectiveness as an institution. The legislature it is scheduled to succeed has been a much-criticized body. Its internal quarrels, its conflicts with the President, and its manner of handling certain problems have brought down on it charges of shortsightedness and inefficiency.

In some quarters, dissatisfaction with the recent work of Congress has given rise to the belief that our legislative system as presently organized cannot operate efficiently. Pointing to the amount of time spent on debate, the energy expended in wrangling between parties, and the frequent duplications of work in Congress, many critics suggest drastic reorganization of our lawmaking techniques. It will fall to the newly elected senators and representatives to show whether or not such suggestions are justified.

Just how is Congress organized for the job it must do? To begin with, of course, the legislative branch of our government is divided into two houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. Since our system was modeled somewhat after the British, it was originally planned that the Senate should be a counterpart of the House of Lords. To make it more aristocratic than the lower house, the framers of the Constitution provided that its members should be chosen by the state legislatures rather than by the people. This was the prevailing practice until the twentieth century.

Since 1913, however, both senators and representatives have been chosen by popular vote. The only real difference is that members of the House are elected to represent particular districts in each state and serve for two years while senators are chosen by all the voters in each state and stay in office for six years. Functionally, the main difference between the House and Senate is that the House has sole power to introduce legislation on money matters while the Senate enjoys a larger share of control over foreign

affairs. Otherwise, the two bodies share responsibility equally, the approval of both being required for the passage of laws.

Within the House of Representatives, business is conducted under the leadership of a Speaker elected at the beginning session of each new Congress. Although technically any member may be Speaker of the House, in practice the leader of the majority party is always chosen for the job. Thus, with a Democratic majority elected again, Sam Rayburn will continue as Speaker for the next two years.

The general function of the Speaker of the House is to keep order while the members are in session, recognizing those who wish to speak and directing the flow of debate so that business will proceed as quickly and efficiently as possible. Formerly, Speakers of the House had absolute power to recognize or ignore members



Joseph W. Martin
House minority leader

who wished to address the House. They were also authorized to appoint all committees and determine the order in which proposed legislation should come to the floor. Under this system, such Speakers as Representative Cannon, who served under Presidents Taft and Roosevelt, became veritable dictators of the House.

Cannon used his power to recognize would-be speakers to see that only spokesmen for measures he favored took the floor of the House. He placed his own favorites in all the key committee jobs and, through his domination of the Rules Committee, which brings proposed legislation up for debate in the House, saw to it that only the bills he favored were voted upon.

It was in protest against Cannon's autocratic methods that the Speaker's powers were altered. Now his right to refuse recognition to members wishing to take the floor is limited and he no longer chooses the members of the various committees. The Rules Committee, which decides what bills come to the floor and in what order, is now elected and the Speaker is barred from membership in it.

While the Speaker of the House is responsible for all the administrative work of that body, the clerk of the House is actually the man who manages most of the details. Such matters as supplies, the assignment of offices, and the distribution of pay checks fall within his province. The clerk and his staff of assistants are

not members of Congress and usually continue through a number of administrations. When a new party gains control of the House, the relative positions of Republicans and Democrats on the clerk's staff may be altered, but few are replaced for political reasons.

The real decision as to who shall be Speaker of the House when a new Congress convenes is made in a party caucus—a closed meeting of the majority party's representatives in a special chamber of the House Office Building. Here also, a number of other important matters are settled. A majority leader, a party secretary, and a party whip are named and two vitally important committees are formed—the Steering Committee and the Committee on Committees.

The majority leader—Representative McCormack of Massachusetts for the present House and hence in all probability for the incoming one—is for the majority party representatives what the Speaker is for the House as a whole. He presides over caucuses, decides how debate shall be ordered among the members, and acts as liaison between his party's representatives and the President.

In the House, the majority leader sits at the head of his party's delegation. He frequently confers with the Speaker in arranging the debate. Since time is very important in congressional proceeding, the allotment of debate periods plays a significant part in the law-making process.



Alben W. Barkley
Senate majority leader

The party secretary, a paid official and not a member of the House, aids the majority leader in carrying out these duties. The party whip—now Representative Ramspeck of Georgia—also helps him, rounding up party members to vote on critical issues, polling them so that the majority leader will know what support to expect for party-sponsored legislation, and keeping them informed of all party orders and requests.

The Steering Committee also works closely with the majority leader. Its job is to frame the party's legislative program and then see that the efforts of the party's House membership are coordinated with what party members in the Senate are doing. The Committee on Committees assigns party members to the various House committees. Members of standing committees are formally elected by the entire House, but actually the party's choice is ap-

proved without question. Each party is entitled to representation on the different committees in proportion to the number of seats it holds.

Save for the fact that the minority party does not choose the Speaker of the House, its organization and procedure are the same as majority party organization and procedure. In caucus, its members select a minority leader, a whip, a secretary, and two committee like those mentioned in connection with the majority party. These perform approximately the same duties as their majority party counterparts.

The Senate operates according to the same pattern as the House. The presiding officer, however, is the Vice President rather than an elected member. Unlike the Speaker of the House, the Vice President takes no part in Senate debates and, except in case of a tie, is not allowed to vote on proposed legislation.

It is assumed that the Vice President will often be absent from Senate sessions because of his other official duties. To provide for such occasions, the Senate chooses a president pro tempore who is the real equivalent of the Speaker of the House. Like the Speaker of the House, the president pro tem is leader of the majority party. Virginia's Senator Carter Glass now holds this post. On the administrative side, he is assisted by the Senate Secretary, a paid official comparable to the clerk of the House.

Like the House, the Senate carries on its work through the two leading parties. There is a majority leader and a minority leader. At present, Senator Barkley of Kentucky is majority leader, and minority leadership is shared by Senators Taft, White, and Vandenberg. There are also whips and secretaries as in the House.

Outside the party hierarchies, Congress does its work through an elaborate committee system. There are between 20 and 30 more or less permanent committees in each house. As unusual problems arise, special and temporary ones are formed. Each



Robert Ramspeck
Democratic whip in the House

member of the House and Senate is a member of several committees, though he may be chairman of only one.

Since it is through the committee system that Congress does its most important work, we reserve discussion of this aspect of congressional organization and procedure for another article.

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